DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 222 080 FL 013 262

AUTHOR Kim, Kenneth Kong-On; And Others
TITLE Korean Language Maintenance in Los Angeles. Professional Papers K-1.
INSTITUTION National Center for Bilingual Research, Los Alamitos, Calif.
SPONS AGENCY National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, DC.
PUB DATE Jun 81
NOTE 25p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Acculturation; Culture Conflict; *Korean; *Korean Americans; *Korean Culture; *Language Maintenance; Social Values
IDENTIFIERS California (Los Angeles)

ABSTRACT

Characteristics of the Korean population in Los Angeles, intergenerational cultural problems, and efforts to promote language maintenance are described. The majority of Koreans in Los Angeles have been in the United States less than 10 years. A high percentage are from middle class and professional backgrounds. The traditional hierarchical family structure is being challenged by the younger generation that has been educated with the American values of independence and individual freedom. This conflict between children and their elders is frequently aggravated by lack of communication caused by language differences. Organized community efforts to maintain Korean language and culture include Korean churches, Korean language schools, Korean language mass media, bilingual education in public schools, and business and social organizations. The outcome of these efforts will be influenced by a variety of both negative and positive factors such as the pressure to change from both within and outside the community. (RW)

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June, 1981

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KOREAN LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE IN LOS ANGELES*

Kenneth Kong-On Kim, Kapson Lee & Tai-Yul Kim

ABSTRACT

The presence of the rapidly growing Korean community is making an increasing impact on the social and economic climate in the Los Angeles area. The majority of Koreans have been in the U.S. less than ten years. An unusually high percentage are people from middle class and professional backgrounds and earn their living as small entrepreneurs. They are relatively mobile geographically, often moving from ethnically homogeneous inner-city regions to suburban areas within a few years after initial settlement.

Traditionally, the structure of the Korean family has been based strictly on Confucian tenets. The role and duty of each family member in relation to others are clearly defined and the relationships are always hierarchical. In the hierarchical family structure, each member is a dependent part rather than an independent constituent. The traditional relationships are constantly being challenged by younger family members who are being raised and educated in a society that is totally different from the one in the old country. Independence and freedom of individuals are values that constitute the backbone of

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*This article is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third National Association for Asian and Pacific American Education Conference, April 22-25, 1981, Honolulu, Hawaii. The work upon which this article is based was performed pursuant to Contract 00-CA-80-0001 with the National Institute of Education, Department of Education.

The authors wish to express their gratitude to Drs. Robert Berdan, Jenny Cook-Gumperz, John Gumperz, David Lopez, and Victor Rodriguez for their valuable comments at the various stages of the work reported here.

American tradition. The conflict between children and their elders is frequently aggravated by the lack of communication in the literal sense of the word.

Recently, there have been organized community efforts to help maintain the Korean language and cultural traits among young children of Korean parents. Like many early European immigrant groups, the Korean community has begun to take a direct step toward the goals of maintaining the mother tongue and Korean culture by establishing numerous weekend schools, and cultural and social organizations. A brief profile of these organizations and their implications for Korean language and culture maintenance are discussed.

KOREAN LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE IN LOS ANGELES

Characteristics of the Population

The history of Korean immigration into the United States can be traced back to the early 1900's, when the initial group of Koreans began to arrive in Hawaii to work in the sugar plantations. According to the 1970 Census of Population, in which Koreans were listed as a separate ethnic group for the first time, there were approximately 70,000 Koreans in the United States. Since the passage of the Immigration Reform Act of 1965 which repealed the discriminatory national origin quota system, the mass immigration of Koreans in the past decade (cf. Table 1) made the Koreans a major visible Asian minority group in the United States.

Table 1. Korean Immigrants to the United States (1960-1976)

Year	Korean Immigrants
1960	1,507
1961	1,534
1962	1,538
1963	2,580
1964	2,362
1965	2,165
1966	2,492
1967	3,395
1968	3,811
1969	6,045
1970	9,314
1971	14,297
1972	18,876
1973	22,930
1974	28,028
1975	28,367
1976	30,803

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Reports (1960-1976)

The growth of the Korean community in the Los Angeles area is particularly impressive. Recently, some local Korean language newspapers estimated that there are approximately 200,000 Korean residents in the Los Angeles basin, a figure that seems, however, to be somewhat exaggerated. In a mail questionnaire survey using 12,956 telephone listings of Korean people, Lee and Wagatsuma (1978) estimated that there are 58,421 as of November, 1977. This figure is close to the 55,000-60,000 which was obtained in an independently conducted survey by Yu (1979). About half of the Koreans in this area are concentrated in the so-called Los Angeles Korea Town and its vicinity, an area of approximately 8 square miles located in the central part of the city of Los Angeles (Lee and Wagatsuma, 1978). This area is characterized as an aging and deteriorating residential neighborhood of low income Blacks, Mexican-Americans, other Asians, and elderly Whites. This area also has many multi-unit apartment buildings. The relatively low rent of the old apartments and houses and easy access to public transportation must have attracted many new Korean immigrants.

According to the 1970 Census, 62% of the Korean population in the Los Angeles Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area were foreign-born. However, due to the rapid increase in new immigrants since 1970, over 90% of the Korean heads of households and their spouses in the Los Angeles area were foreign-born in 1979 (Yu, 1979).

The geographical mobility of the Koreans in Korea Town and its immediate neighborhood is extremely high. According to Yu (1979), only 11% of the residents of Korea Town in 1972 remained in the same area in 1977 (Yu, 1979), implying that 89% of the Korean residents moved out of this area during the five years. Lee & Wagatsuma (1978) point out a

distinct correlation between the length of residence in the United States and the eventual move to suburban areas among the Koreans. In other words, the longer the duration of residence, the more likely it is that Koreans will leave the inner city and move to a suburban area. The Korea Town area thus serves as a "launching station" for many new Korean immigrants.

The educational level of the Koreans is extremely high. In 1977, approximately 60% of the Koreans over the college completion age were college graduates (Lee & Wagatsuma, 1978). However, the high level of education among Koreans is hardly reflected in their employment status. About 45% think that their occupational level is not commensurate with their education and 31% feel that they are not paid fairly in view of their education (B.-L. Kim, 1980). A significant fact in regard to the employment status of the Koreans in the Los Angeles area is that about 45% of the total labor force is self-employed (Lee & Wagatsuma, 1978). This ratio is much higher than the 25% based on the nation-wide Korean samples selected from different parts of the united states (Oh, 1979). The ratio of self-employment is much higher in middle or high status areas such as Monterey Park (70%) and Palos Verdes (79%).

A large proportion (44%) of Koreans in 1977 were under 19 (Lee & Wagatsuma, 1978). Yu's data (1979) show that in 1979, 74% of the families in Los Angeles had at least one child in their family. These statistics indicate that the education of children and maintenance of Korean should be matters of great concern for most Korean immigrant families. About 24% of the Korean immigrant families responded in a survey (Oh, 1979) that the most important reason for immigration to the

United States was to provide better educational opportunities for their children.

Despite the high aspirations and motivation of Korean parents for the education of their children, the lack of information in regard to the curriculum at school and about the educational system in general prohibits active participation in educational activities for the children. Only about 10% of the parents of selected elementary school children had additional education in the United States (B.-L Kim, 1980). Another important inhibitive factor is, of course, the lack of English proficiency on the part of the parents.

The English language problem is a serious one for both parents and students. For example, 47% of the adult Koreans listed the lack of English as the most difficult problem that they experience in the United States (Oh, 1979) and 48% of the Korean students in the Korea Town area reported that communication in English was the most serious difficulty in school (Yu, 1977). A 1973 survey (U.S. DHEW, 1977) shows that 99% of the Koreans in Los Angeles Korea Town, New York, and San Francisco were using Korean as their primary home language and 48% use Korean language newspapers as the most important source of information (Oh, 1979).

Cultural and Linguistic Problems

Although parents seem to be satisfied with the academic and social progress of their children at school (Kim, 1980), there is a growing concern that their children are rapidly losing or failing to learn the Korean language and cultural traits that their parents want them to maintain and learn. Additionally, there is grave concern that their

children are beginning to develop very different values which are generally unacceptable to the parents.

Traditionally, the structure of the Korean family has been governed strictly in terms of Confucian tenets. The rules and duties of each family member in relation to each other are clearly defined and the relationships are always hierarchical. The wife, e.g., is to submit to the dictates of her husband, children in general are expected to revere and obey their elders. The family is viewed as an orderly whole, and each member is a dependent part rather than an independent individual.

The traditional relationships are constantly being challenged in the U.S. where the independence of individuals, young or old, is an integral part of the American tradition. Many Korean youths find themselves caught between two cultures. They feel that they are not fully accepted by the mainstream society, nor do they feel at home in their family where their "excessive" Americanization is frequently regarded as moral decadence by the adult members. The conflict is thus between the family members, as well as within the individual member him/herself.

Many Korean parents (about 54%), who have not yet experienced cultural conflict between themselves and their children, either expect it or are worried about it (B.-L. Kim, 1980). About 33% have already experienced conflict with their young children. Considering that over 90% of the responding families in Los Angeles lived in the United States for less than 6 years, the number of parents experiencing conflict with younger family members is likely to increase significantly in the passage of time.

The conflict within the family is frequently aggravated by the lack of communication between family members. According to Bok-Lim Kim (1980), 87% of the Korean fathers and 71% of the Korean mothers are working full-time outside their home, and these working parents are unable to allocate enough time and attention to their children. Inevitably, meaningful communication between the generations becomes increasingly less frequent.

Communication on the linguistic level constitutes an equally serious problem between Korean parents and children. Being, for the most part, recent arrivals, the Korean immigrants in the United States are largely a Korean-speaking group and the language spoken at home is Korean. However, after two or three years of residency in the United States, the children rapidly acquire competency in English and as they do so, they tend to lose their Korean language skills. On the other hand, parents are relatively slow to make progress in English learning. Most are self-conscious, a common characteristic of older language learners, and are unable, generally, to absorb the greater degree of linguistic and sociocultural complexity of speech from the adult native speakers of English. Many parents become keenly aware that the survival level of English is inadequate for the highly emotive interaction between themselves and their children. From the parents' perspective, their children seem to become Americanized all too soon thus losing their identities as Koreans and becoming antagonistic toward their parents' value system. Parents thus justifiably attribute these changes in their children's attitude to the loss of mother tongue.

Language Maintenance Efforts

Recently, there have been organized community efforts to help maintain the Korean language and other cultural traits among growing children of Korean parents. Like many early European immigrant groups, the Korean community has begun to take a direct step towards attaining the goals of language maintenance and enhancement of ethnic identity by establishing numerous weekend schools.

A number of organizations addressed themselves to the goal of language and cultural maintenance include Korean churches, Korean language schools, public schools with Korean bilingual education programs, Korean language mass media, and other business and social organizations.

Korean churches. The Korean Business Directory (Korea Times, 1980) lists 233 Christian and 5 Buddhist churches in Los Angeles County and part of Orange County. These figures represent only those listed in the Directory; the actual number is probably considerably higher. The number of newly established Christian churches in the Los Angeles area through January, 1979, is presented in Table 2. In January, 1979, the average attendance at the Sunday worship service was 24,863, which breaks down as follows: 16,890 adults, 5,398 elementary grade children, 2,125 secondary school children, and 450 college students (Park, 1979).

The churches, more than any other public or community organizations, are very responsive to the needs of the new arrivals. In addition to their primary role as a religious center, employment counseling for employment, education, and marriages, maintenance of the Korean language and culture, and assistance in the adjustment to

the new environment are also some of the other functions performed by churches. It can be a major reason for their success in converting large numbers of Koreans in the United States. About 60% of the Koreans in the United States (Oh, 1979) and 73% of the Koreans in the Los Angeles area (Lee & Wagatsuma, 1978) are Christians, whereas the ratio is only 16% in Korea (C.-H. Kim, 1980).

Table 2 Number of Korean Churches Established in Southern California (1965-1978)

Year	Number	Year	Number
Before 1965	11	1972	11
1965	2	1973	13
1966	1	1974	12
1967	1	1975	31
1968	2	1976	23
1969	3	1977	23
1970	7	1978	53
1971	6	Jan. 1979	4

Source: Park, 1979.

All the worship services and other church activities are conducted in Korean, and the church bulletins are printed in Korean. For the last two or three years, however, a few churches have started conducting an English worship service for the second generation Koreans, mostly school age children, in addition to the Korean service for Korean speaking adults. In many churches, the shortage of teachers who can teach the children in English has become quite evident. In such churches, problems in communications have become apparent between the children and the teachers.

Of late, churches and parents have begun increasingly to feel the need to teach Korean to the young generation Koreans. As of March, 1981, over 37 churches in Los Angeles and Orange County had a program to teach the Korean language, culture, and history. Although there are various problems yet to be resolved, such as the qualifications of the teachers and lack of instructional materials, the church schools' efforts are expected to generate significant impact on the young Koreans' attitude toward the Korean language and culture, and also on the parents' attitude toward providing Korean language and culture instruction for their children.

Korean language schools. As of March, 1981, there were about 60 church schools and non-church-affiliated community schools in Southern California, where the Korean language is taught as a regular subject. The total enrollment in these schools was about 4,000 and the number of teachers, about 350. Most of the church schools conduct classes for one to three hours on Sundays. Some schools have classes on Saturdays. The subject matter that is taught frequently includes Korean history, Korean songs, and Korean traditional martial arts, as well as the Korean language.

In 1979, the Korean government dispatched two Korean consuls and two teachers to the United States; one consul and one teacher to Washington, DC, for the eastern region, and the other two to Los Angeles for the west coast region. Their mission was specifically to assist the Korean community's efforts to teach the Korean language and culture to Korean children by providing textbooks, other educational materials and technical assistance.

The largest Korean school in the United States is the Korean School of Southern California. Since its opening in 1972 by a handful of concerned parents, it has been growing steadily with the growth of the Korean population and the increasing concern of the community. It now has three branch schools in three different locations, one each in Los Angeles Korea Town, San Fernando Valley, and the South Bay area. As of March, 1981, the three branch schools of the Korean School of Southern California had a total enrollment of 549 students (360 in the Los Angeles Branch, 85 in the San Fernando Branch, and 104 in the South Bay Branch) and 38 teachers (24, 7 and 7 in the respective branches). These schools conduct classes for three hours on Saturdays.

Since 1979, the school has been raising funds to construct its own building. As of September, 1980, about $210,000 was raised from the local Korean community. The Los Angeles agencies of several Korea-based banks pledged $130,000 and the Korean government pledged one million dollars for the next three years.

Unlike church schools where the shortage of qualified teachers is a serious problem, most teachers of the Korean School of Southern California are qualified elementary or secondary teachers with teaching credentials issued by either the Korean government or appropriate institutions in the United States. The students are from various parts of the Los Angeles area. Many of them commute 40-50 miles with their parents in order to attend the school. Despite the location of the Los Angeles Branch in the middle of Korea Town, only a relatively small proportion of the students, however, are actually from the Korea Town area. Since they are mostly recent immigrants, their parents do not seem to feel it necessary to send their children to the school.

Currently the school's Board of Directors is considering elevating the status of the school to a regular private school by 1983 with the Korean language and culture as regular subjects.

Bilingual education in public schools. Since the passage of the 1968 Bilingual Education Act, bilingual education for minority language children in public schools has drawn increasing attention from federal, state, and local educational agencies and the general public. California law now requires special instruction in the home language for NES/LES students enrolled in public schools.

As of April, 1980, there were 6,599 NES/LES Korean students (K-12) in California, and 4,406 in Los Angeles County alone (California State Department of Education, 1980). There have been various problems in implementing the legislation, however, due to the scarcity of research data on effective bilingual instruction, the shortage of qualified Korean bilingual teachers, and the lack of adequate instructional materials. In spite of these difficulties, the fact that bilingual education in California public schools formally recognizes the Korean language along with other minority languages, as a medium of classroom instruction may bring about a positive impact on the language maintenance of young Korean children.

Korean language mass media. Korean language mass media are playing a very important role in Korean language maintenance. There are three major Korean language daily newspapers which are published and circulated in the Korean communities in the United States. They are the Korea Times, the Dong-A Ilbo, and the Joong-Ang Daily News. These papers have been published in Los Angeles for over ten years. The three newspapers, with a relatively large circulation, have a

homeland section identical to the one read by the readers in Korea and a local section written and edited in the United States. Thus, readers are able to keep up with the language currently used in Korea as well as with the major social and political developments there. There are also two weeklies, one bimonthly, and two monthlies, a'l of which are published in Los Angeles and Orange County. Of the above, one weekly is bilinguai and the bimonthly is exclusively in English. In addition to the above, there are at least a half dozen weekly or monthly evangelical Christian newspapers.

Besides the newspapers, there are also electronic mass media. Four TV stations--TBC TV, KTP-TV, Korea Times-TV, and the Worldwide Broadcasting Network--broadcast a total of 16.5 hours per week. Air time ranges from 1 to 2 hours per evening on weekdays and weekends. All the Korean language TV programs advertise local businesses. The first three stations provide entertainment programs, such as drama or musical shows brought from Korea, as well as a 10-20 minute newscasts. The Worldwide Broadcasting Network is unique in that all the programs are aimed at the propagation of Christian evangelism.

The Korean language radio station is operated by an organization called KBC Radio Station. They provide 24 hour programs only to listeners who rent a special receiver. Every evening they offer FM broadcasting for one hour through a U.S. commercial radio station. Except for the newscast, most of the programs are brought from Korea and broadcast with locally-produced commercials. The role of these mass media is particularly significant for shaping the public opinion about the necessity or value of language and culture maintenance in the Korean community.

Businesses and other social organizations. There are also a great number of retail and service businesses whose clientele are mostly Koreans. Table 3 shows the number of businesses listed in the two issues of the Korean Business Directory published by the Korea Times in 1978 and 1980, respectively. The number in the last column represents the number of businesses in Korea Town and the surrounding neighborhood that cover twelve zip code zones.

On the basis of the figures given in the table, it can be seen that businesses increased by 603 (50%) in two years from 1978 to 1980. Korean businesses in the Korea Town area now constitute 50% of the total number of Korean businesses.

The table reveals a few other significant points. Many retail or service businesses are closely related to the ethnic characteristics of the Korean population: Restaurants and grocery markets selling ethnic foods, gift shops, oriental herbalists and acupuncturists, (both popular medical professions in Korea for many centuries) are all directed to the special needs and tastes of the Korean people.

Many of the businesses which are frequented by Korean Americans are those which render services requiring a high degree of verbal communication. For example, in insurance sales, real estate sales, accounting services, dentistry and other medical professions, a high degree of verbal skills are essential for expressing physical and psychological feelings and also for establishing rapport or trust between the relevant parties. Frequently the relationship between the businesses and their customers is not determined on the basis of the geographic proximity, but on the need of the customers to conduct important transaction in a language with which they are comfortable.

Table 3. Type and Number of Businesses and Organizations listed in 1978 and 1980-81 Korean Business Directory

	1978	1980	Koreatown Only (1980)
Advertising Company	7	7	7
Air Lines Office	3	3	2
Art Gallery	11	5	4
Auto Repair	34	42	28
Auto Sales (with Korean salesperson)	19	23	13
Bank (including agencies of Korean banks)	9	10	1
Bakery	7	9	8
Barber Shop	3	3	3
Beauty Shop	23	25	15
Book Store	3	8	5
C.P.A. & Accounting	27	26	20
Clinic, Doctor's Office, Chiropractor	29	80	38
Construction	25	25	15
Cosmetics	13	9	8
Custom Service & Transportation	11	22	4
Dental Clinic	59	105	39
Driving School	8	14	7
Fire Extinguisher & Installment	16	19	5
Flower & Nursery	24	33	9
Food Import & Wholesale	17	22	6
Fortune-Teller	9	7	6
Furniture	14	9	6
Gas Station	25	25	6
Gift Shop	34	71	45
Grocery Market	57	71	30
Health Club	4	6	5
Immigration Consultant, Interpreter	6	9	7
Insurance Agency	91	104	79
Interior Design & Carpet	6	6	4
Jewelry & Watch Shop	10	25	8
Laundry & Cleaner	7	8	3
Law Office	5	7	3
Lamp	0	4	1
Liquor	3	3	0
Building Maintenance	10	15	6
Men's Clothing & Tailor Shop	13	15	4
Music Instrument	6	11	7
Newspaper, Radio, TV	13	19	10
Night Club	25	31	21
Occupational Training, School, Institution	34	48	28
Office Supplies	6	7	5
Oriental Herbs & Acupuncture	37	57	37
Optical & Optometrist	0	6	5
Pharmacy	8	14	12
Photo & Camera	12	18	14
Print Shop	18	21	15
Painting Service	0	34	22
Real Estate	62	105	34
Restaurant	56	105	56
Sewing Machine & Vaccum	3	4	2
Shoe Sales & Repair	31	28	19
Sporting Goods & Guns	10	20	14
TV, Stereo, Ref., Sales & Repair	20	25	14
Tae Kwon Do Studio	24	40	6
Trading Company	107	237	65
Travel Agency	26	43	26
Trophy & Sign	6	11	9
Women's Clothing	51	56	34
TOTALS	1197	1800	905

There are several hundred social, religious, and other voluntary organizations, including social clubs, churches, community service organizations, and associations representing the local Korean community and various kinds of businesses. Most meetings of the associations and clubs are conducted exclusively in Korean. Recognizing the rapid growth in the Korean population and the language problem experienced by most Koreans, federal, state and other public agencies have begun to assist the community organizations by providing funds or special services, such as printing common official forms in Korean.

The Future of Korean Language Maintenance

In spite of a number of difficulties, the Korean community's organized efforts to promulgate the maintenance of the Korean language and culture are increasing rapidly. The question that arises is whether such efforts will bring results that are different from what the other ethnic minorities with a longer immigration history have experienced.

Historically, European immigrants, such as German and French, despite their large numbers (approximately nine and ten million respectively, in 1910) were not very successful in maintaining their language and culture (Kloss, 1966; Lemaire, 1966). They did establish language islands where education and everyday communication in and outside the home occurred in their mother tongue. Language loyalists of these groups once enjoyed the hope of maintaining the ethnic traits of the old country by teaching their children the mother tongue and the culture of the homeland in parochial or public schools in their community. Their efforts also included broadcast and publication of newspapers and books in their language, and the organization of

associations for language and culture maintenance. Neither the education of their children in the parochial schools, nostalgic sentiment, patriotism, nor ethnic pride, however, could stop the gradual, but powerful, force of the erosion of the immigrants' old linguistic and cultural system. By the third generation, the language and culture of the parents and grandparents were no longer acquired by the children as behavioral traits but rather as information about their ancestors' country.

The permanent maintenance of a non-English mother tongue now appears to be an unrealistic goal even within a well-bounded ethnic community. There is always tremendous pressure, both from within and outside the community, on the young immigrants or second generation children to learn and use English. The pressure is so powerful that it easily overrides the motivation provided by concerned parents and language loyalists. The prestige status of English as the de facto national language, the priority of English over all other factors in employment considerations, the weakening resistance of the first generation immigrants to the acquisition of English due to the high social and geographic mobility in the United States--all these factors are extremely difficult to resist and overcome. Furthermore, language maintenance is, to many people, a matter of choice where even an unwanted choice is not directly threatening to the existence or welfare of the individuals.

One might conclude that the language maintenance efforts of the Korean group are futile in the long run and destined to the same fate as those of the European groups. There are factors, however, that might make any such prediction hasty, if not inaccurate.

First of all, due to the federal and state legislation regarding bilingual education for minority language students, there have been positive changes in the attitude of both mainstream and minority groups toward minority languages. The official recognition of minority languages as a medium of instruction in many bilingual programs in California public schools should have a significant impact on the language maintenance efforts of minority language groups: It may provide spiritual impetus to the language loyalists, and the use of minority languages at school as well as home may help the young immigrant children retain their mother tongue. Bilingual education, if it is fully implemented, will bring about a positive national and ethnic climate favorable to minority language maintenance.

Secondly, the relatively successful maintenance of the Spanish language in the Southwest is in large part attributed to the constant influx of new Mexican immigrants and to the geographic proximity to Mexico, which facilitates the frequent contact of Mexican-Americans with the homeland (Glazer, 1966). Although the Korean situation is hardly comparable to that of Mexican-Americans either in terms of the magnitude of the influx of new immigrants or the geographic proximity of the mother land the Korean group shares some commonalities. The continuous threat from the communist regime of North Korea and the political and economic instability of Korea have encouraged a large number of Koreans to seek emigration to the United States. Furthermore, the contact of Korean-Americans with the homeland is becoming increasingly more frequent. Numerous local agencies of Korean-based trading companies have been created in the Korean community due to the Korean government's current economic policy which

emphasizes foreign trade. Also, air transportation between the United States and Korea has never been more convenient than now.

Thirdly, unlike other European immigrants, Koreans can never pass as "Whites." Their physical appearance makes Koreans or other colored races self-conscious as long as they remain minorities. The perpetual self-consciousness may prolong the efforts of Koreans to maintain their linguistic and cultural heritage.

The educated middle class background of the majority of Koreans should also be a valuable asset in the effort to maintain the Korean language and culture. There are relatively ample human resources available to organize and execute language and culture maintenance efforts, including numerous ministers waiting to start new churches when they have enough new immigrants. Many middle-aged parents, who play leading roles in the Korean community, have an extraordinary determination to attain this goal, which has been, to a great extent, nourished through an education in Korea that emphasized patriotism.

On the other hand, there are also factors that make the picture less bright. The extremely high geographical mobility of the recent immigrants in Korea Town will greatly limit the role of Korea Town. There are positive signs that Korea Town will grow into a Korean language island if the current pattern and rate of immigration continue. But to most Korean immigrant residents in Korea Town, the language island will be a temporary phenomenon because they will move out of Korea Town to suburban areas within a few years. Unless stable suburban ethnic communities should emerge, many Koreans living outside Korea Town may quickly lose their ties with other Koreans.

Unlike business proprietors in Korea Town, many Korean small entrepreneurs who are also flourishing outside Korea Town may begin to lose their motivation in regard to maintaining the Korean language and culture and may prefer to conceal their ethnicity whenever possible to please their mainstream customers. Since small Korean-owned businesses are mostly family-operated and many older children spend a considerable amount of time helping their parents in the business, the children's propensity to assimilate quickly will be even further accelerated.

The language maintenance efforts in the Korean community are relatively recent. To ensure a good beginning, it will be necessary for Korean community leaders to evaluate the current approaches, to present the value of mother tongue maintenance in terms which are acceptable to first generation parents and their children, and to systematize the procedures for executing the efforts. This effort, of course, will have to be made on the basis of the past experiences of other language minority groups as well as on the research of linguists, psychologists, sociologists, and ethnologists in the area of language maintenance.

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